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Greek pottery on the Timpone della Motta and in the Sibaritide from c. 780 to 620 BC

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Chapter 9. Pre-Sybaris contacts and the colonisation of the Sibaritide.

9.1. Introduction.

The thesis has so far focused on the movements and motivations behind the influx of Greek pottery to the Timpone della Motta and to the Sibaritide in general. In this chapter, the observations will be confronted with the discussion on pre-Sybaris contacts and the colonisation of the Sibaritide in the period between c. 780 BC to 700 BC.

The presentation is summarily and will, from the point of this thesis, attempt to conclude on specific issues where Greek pottery traditionally is the predominant measure of inference.

9.2. Pre-Sybaris contacts

As described in Chapter 2, pre-Sybaris imports, mostly pottery, have for a long time been recognised in the archaeological record of the Sibaritide. Various scholars have over the years offered different interpretations on how these objects arrived, but the question remained largely unsolved since the various suggestions from an objective point of view all seems reasonable while there is very little secondary evidence, which favours one more than the other. In Chapter 3, some additional pre-Sybaris fragments from the GIA excavation were presented, which further underline that pre-Sybaris connections existed in one form or another. Some of the recently excavated pottery is Euboean, which in itself could suggest that the Sibaritide in one way or another was connected to the “Euboean circuit” (see, Chapter 1). The Greek pottery does however not offer anything conclusive in the understanding on how the pottery arrived or why.

It has therefore in this thesis been suggested that the focus should be put on non-Greek pottery in order to investigate whether information could be obtained, which would help to understand the arrival of Greek pottery in the Sibaritide. This was done in Chapter 4 by presenting a group of Oinotrian-Euboean pottery, which was produced in Francavilla Marittima in the period between c. 780 and 700/690 BC.

The overall interpretation of this material is, as stated, that it reflects the circulation of potters and people between the Sibaritide and Campania / Ischia.

This conclusion is based on the observation that the stylistic similarity between Oinotrian-Euboean pottery produced in the two areas is so close that one has to assume that a circulation of crafts, ideas and thereby also Greek potters took place in this period. A number of specific observations made on the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery further indicate the presence of a connection between the Sibaritide and Campania / Ischia, among which I would like especially to emphasize the Francavilla “horse stand” decorated in a style that is closely related to the Cesnola Painter. Also, the Greek inscription crater fragment (fig. 1 and cat. no. 53) is important, since it has, together with the “horse stand” close stylistic parallels in the material from Ischia. Other indications such as the lyre player scarab from the Macchiabate necropolis and especially the matt-painted *askos*, which was found in a child’s grave in Pithekoussai, also supports the idea that a circulation of

people, including potters, took place. In view of that background it is also reasonable to suggest that Greek pottery would have arrived via Campania / Ischia. However, only a very limited amount of Greek pottery consisting mainly of drinking cups reached the Sibaritide and as argued in chapter 5 the reception of these vessels indicates that they were not associated with any special meaning. The same appears to have been the case for the locally produced Oinotrian-Euboean cups

This is in clear contrast to the reception of Greek and Italo-Geometric pottery elsewhere.

In Campania, Greek frequentation and interaction with indigenous groups could be deduced from the presence of Greek drinking vessels in the indigenous graves, where they seem to reflect an introduction of wine consumption (chapter 1). The Iapygian groups in the Salento area also incorporated drinking related vessels into the local shape repertoire. The introduction of wine consumption hence seems to have been an almost immediate result of a frequentation between Greek (aristocratic ?) individuals and indigenous groups in both Campania and the Salento. In the Sibaritide the situation however never developed to that stage. Greek drinking cups were not incorporated within the indigenous grave gifts and the reception of the few Oinotrian-Euboean cups in existence clearly reflects preference the indigenous had for Greek cups but not for the consumption of wine.

From this emerges a picture of the Sibaritide between ca 780-730 BC, in which clear Greek impulses and individuals were present in the area but failed to cause a cultural impact upon the indigenous society similar to the one observable in other places.

This seems to show that actual Greek interest in the Sibaritide was on a low social and commercial level compared to that in Campania and the Salento region.

9.2.1. Greek-indigenous level of contact

The sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta may have been the main attraction for Greek individuals. However, not as a religious centre but rather as a place where Greek potters could make a living by producing Oinotrian-Euboean pottery in commission for the local elite to be used within the sanctuary. Identifying Greek individuals from the Oinotrian-Euboean pottery is a subjective decision if it is solely based on the degree of similarity between Oinotrian-Euboean pottery and genuine Greek or Italo-geometric pottery.

Chapter 4 therefore aimed to contextualize the Oinotrian-Euboean production by comparing it with the traditional Matt-painted production. This showed that the two productions were fundamentally different in almost every aspect and that they existed contemporaneously until 700/690 BC without interfering with each other. Overlaps can however be observed. The traditional matt-painted potters appear to have been

influenced by the decoration on Oinotrian-Euboean pottery and the Oinotrian-Euboean potters produced a matt-painted version. Both occurrences are however within the “normal behaviour” of both traditions and do not inflect on the general differences. The clear separations between respectively the matt-painted and Oinotrian-Euboean tradition do in my opinion, together with the already mentioned specific stylistic parallels to Greek and Italo-geometric pottery, justify the conclusion that Greek potters were working in Francavilla Marittima from the second quarter of the 8th BC onwards.

It followingly seems that the initial Greek presence in the Sibaritide prior to c. 730 BC was limited to a craftsman level, which did not reach the indigenous elite. This was in contrast to the contacts between the indigenous and Phoenicians and I agree with the view that the first foreign contact achieved by the indigenous elite were Phoenician rather than Greek.

9.2.2. Changing funeral rites in the period 730-700 BC

After 730 BC, changes can be seen in the Sibaritide, at the end of Chapter 5, I isolated a small group of graves in the Sibaritide, which contained Greek pottery and dated the group to the period between 730-720 BC, meaning shortly before the foundation of Sybaris. Although the group is limited, it does show some interesting patterns in the reception of Greek pottery (schema 10). In three graves, the presence of a Greek drinking cup in an individual functional position indicates the introduction of wine consumption. In another grave (T8) the overall composition of the grave goods, including Greek pottery, reflects, I think, the actual presence of a Greek woman or an indigenous woman with a high degree of Greek self-identification.

This changes in the indigenous funeral rites, especially towards the reception of Greek drinking cups, indicates that Greek individuals were present in the Sibaritide during the period shortly before the foundation of Sybaris and that they were in direct contact with members of the indigenous society on a formal level in contrast to the previous craftsman level.

It is however difficult to detect the ethnical background of these “Greek individuals” and it can therefore only be noted that they could have been related to the Greek activities in Campania or Salento, or they might have been Achaeans making themselves acquainted with the indigenous groups in the Sibaritide before the actual foundation of Sybaris.

9.3. Border sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta ?

F. de Polignac has defined a border sanctuary as an installation, which served the purpose of defining, controlling and protecting the *chora* of the Greek polis. The concept leaves no space for previous indigenous

religious activities at the sites of Greek border sanctuaries nor does it accept cooperation between indigenous and Greeks or continuation of indigenous religious rites or as it has been explained by de Polignac: “*It is hard to believe that, in the religious domain, the Greeks were necessarily influenced by the Italic natives to the point of adopting their deities and rites, which no more than a Greek veneer, for all the evidence shows how rapidly the indigenous culture became deeply and lastingly Hellenized*”³⁴¹.

Greek presence can be attested on the Timpone della Motta during the last part of the 8th century BC. This is in its own right reflected in the mix of Greek and indigenous impulses in the architecture of Temple Vc. The influx of Greek pottery to the sanctuary is however low when compared with the traditional Oinotrian ceramics. The combination of Greek cups, *oinochai* and locally produced craters indicates that wine drinking rituals of some form was incorporated in the sanctuary practice. The limited amount of drinking related shapes does however show that the ritual was not widely practiced. The craters were at the same time locally produced, which indicates an active indigenous choice in the acceptance. The overall appearance of the material from the last quarter of the 8th century BC remained predominantly indigenous in all other aspects.

On this background it can clearly be stated that the interpretation of the Timpone della Motta as a border sanctuary finds no support in the archaeological record from the site.

9.3.1. Influx of Greek and Oinotrian “colonial ware” pottery between c. 700-680 BC

Considerations presented in Chapter 6 on the date and “type-batching” of the Greek pottery, showed that it remained a very limited material group until around 680 BC but as illustrated in Chapter 7 the amount of Greek shapes however increased in the first two decades of the 7th century BC. Oinotrian “colonial ware” cups and pyxides were systematically produced in a specialised local workshop. The fact that the influx of Greek pottery is limited until c. 680 BC is in contrast to the observation that at the same time there was a larger influx of matt-painted pottery from Basilicata in the period between 720-680 BC. I have in chapter 6.6 suggested that one has to consider whether Greek pottery could also have arrived over the same connection. The overall range of pottery from the period indicates that the ritual and infrastructural control over the sanctuary continued to be indigenous. Sybaritic control or strong influence is unattested.

9.3.2. Large scale influx to the Timpone della Motta c. 680-660 BC

From c. 680 BC the large scale influx of Greek pottery to the sanctuary began and from c. 660 BC it increased rapidly.

³⁴¹ De Polignac 1995, p.

At the same time, the local pottery workshops were producing vast amounts of vessels minded for the ritual use in the sanctuary. The overall shape repertoire shows that new dedicational and rites were introduced reflected in shapes such as *aryballoi* and conical *lekythoi*. This indicates an increasing Greek participation in the ritual affairs in the sanctuary but still the traditional indigenous focus on textile continued. In regards to the infrastructural control of the sanctuary, it can be noted that there is a more equal division between the indigenous and Greek sybaritic part the latter being clearly indicated by the amounts of Greek pottery and the fact that they arrived to the sanctuary in large batches ready for dedication. The construction of Temple Vd around 660/650 BC appears to be the culmination of the increasing Greek involvement in the sanctuary. The structure itself does not reflect any particular indigenous input but the fact that the new temple was constructed at the same place and maintained the dimension of the previous building Vc might in itself be viewed as a continuation of indigenous influence on the architectural appearance of the sanctuary. A continuing indigenous involvement in the sanctuary is however still present in the dedication of textile related objects and in the missive influx of locally produced vessels. The construction of Temple Vd corresponds with the date of the earliest Greek pottery from other sanctuary sites in the Sibaritide. Although not much is known about these places, the appearance of the Greek pottery itself indicates an increasing sybaritic interest in the religious affairs of the Sibaritide. Yet, it is still not possible to apply the concept of border sanctuaries to the situation since the investigation in this thesis shows that it was a gradual process of increasing Greek involvement. Furthermore, bronze finds from Cozzo Michelicchio show that religious activities had probably taken place here from before the foundation of Sybaris.

In Francavilla Marittima the sanctuary was rearranged again towards the end of the 7th century BC or in the early 6th century BC. From what can be concluded from the excavated material the ritual arrangements of the sanctuary did not undergo any substantial changes on that occasion.

In consideration of the observations presented here it seems reasonable to argue that the Sybaritic influence on the of the Timpone della Motta, began around 680 BC and manifested itself in the religious spheres around 660/650 BC. From thereon the Sybaritic influence on the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta gradually increased and from c. 650 BC more sanctuaries in the Sibaritide appears to have been under strong Sybaritic influence.

9.4. Sybaritic influence outside the Timpone della Motta

The graves in Amendolara, which were presented in Chapter 8, provide the clearest overview on the reception of Greek and colonial pottery in the indigenous graves of the Sibaritide.

The first half of the 7th century BC offers no general changes in the funeral rites. The *skyphoi*, which appeared among the grave goods do not add a new functional aspect to the graves but merely seems to reflect an indigenous preference for Greek shape and decoration. From around ca. 650 BC general changes in the funeral rites start to take place. The introduction of perfumed oil into the funeral sphere indicates a new indigenous perception towards the contents of the graves. Oil containers notably *aryballoi* would, as argued, probably also have had a central position in Greek Sybaritic graves and it is therefore natural to see the appearance of oil containers in Amendolara as an inspiration from Greeks at nearby Sybaris.

The appearance of oil in the Amendolara graves appears contemporary with the increasing sybaritic involvement on the Timpone della Motta and other sanctuaries in the Sibaritide, indicating that a more broad sybaritic influence was also starting to be felt in the indigenous areas.

Yet, the traditional use of matt-painted vessels continued to be dominating in the Amendolara graves. Continuing the issue of oil containers, it is interesting to note that even though a new functional element was incorporated in the graves, they were vessels decorated in the traditional matt-painted technique, which fulfilled the role and rarely the Corinthian *aryballos*. One might wonder why so few *aryballoi* found their way to Amendolara. It seems unlikely that there was a deep felt resistance against using the Greek oil vessels. Drinking cups were frequently used and, as it has been observed several times, it was the functional value of vessels, which were underlying a strict traditional pattern and not their shape or origin. The presence of oil was a new and, as argued, probably Greek inspired element and it is therefore even more unlikely that they should have had any hesitation in using Corinthian *aryballoi*. That is, if they had been directly available. However, they might not have. When viewing the total amount of Greek and colonial vessels in Amendolara it becomes clear that the number of actual Greek pieces is very small compared to the number of colonial pieces. It can therefore again be observed that the deepest insight into Greek influence is not provided by the Greek pottery itself but by the study on the overall reception of pottery. The majority of the Greek pottery probably arrived via Sybaris. As illustrated in chapter 6.6., Greek pottery might have arrived in Francavilla Marittima during the period 720-680 BC via Incoronata but the connection appeared to end around 680 BC. In Amendolara, the only piece which surely dates within this period is the Thapsos *skyphos* from grave 105P. Of the remaining pieces none can be securely dated to this period and some, including the few *aryballoi*, clearly dates after. Sybaris therefore seems to be the most qualified guess of origin. That does however not mean that colonial ware pottery arrived from Sybaris or even that it was related to the Achaean city. The frequent finds of matt-painted vessels in the 7th century BC graves clearly show that a pottery production was related to the settlement. It is unknown whether colonial ware was also produced in Amendolara during the 7th century BC but the presence of a production site at nearby Francavilla Marittima and the fact that a *keramikos* from the 6th century BC has been located in Amendolara at least justify the suggestion that the

settlement had its own production of colonial pottery e.g. *filetti skyphoi*, already in the 7th century BC³⁴².

Towards the end of the 7th century BC the funeral rites rapidly changes in Amendolara in direction of Greek costumes.

The changes in Amendolara occur contemporary with large general changes in the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta indicating a broad scale expansion of Sybaritic interest.

In Francavilla Marittima the situation is more intriguing. As described in Chapter 2 clear signs of large scale migration are visible in the 7th century BC. The amount of graves at the Macchiabate necropolis is remarkably limited compared to the earlier periods and habitation of the plateaus of the Timpone della Motta is largely unattested. As described in chapter 2, various conclusions have been drawn from the apparent quick disappearance of the settlement and I will here conclude the present chapter with some general considerations on the changing settlement pattern in Francavilla Marittima.

9.5. Migration

It is without doubt that the indigenous settlement in Francavilla Marittima underwent dramatic changes at the end of the 8th century BC. The abrupt disappearance of houses and the likewise abrupt downfall in the number of graves must one way or another have been caused by a sudden event. Some material is however attested from the period between the late 8th century BC to ca 620 BC. In chapter 8, a number of graves from the Macchiabate necropolis were presented, which show that the reception of the Greek and colonial pottery both reflected continuation of traditional traditions and incorporation of pottery, which was related to the consumption of wine. It therefore seems evident that the small remaining population in Francavilla partly had adopted this ritual in the 7th century BC. Where this population actually lived is unsure. As mentioned in chapter 2 some fragments have been found on plateau 1 but they are few and no structures from the period have been found. Nevertheless, a continued habitation on or around the Timpone della Motta is in line with the continuing production of pottery in Francavilla Marittima as well as the continuing indigenous control over the infrastructural arrangement of the sanctuary in the first half of the 7th century BC.

In respect to the whereabouts of the migrating population, the present thesis has not produced any conclusive clarity on the question. Yet, the suggestion that they had translocated to Sybaris, as it has been defied by P. G. Guzzo and others, does, I think, makes some sense. Another possibility is that a new indigenous settlement was found some where towards Sybaris but the idea can not be controlled since the area today is covered by up to 6 m. of alluvial sand.

However, Greek pressure on the indigenous society did not caused migration since it began at a point where the indigenous influence still was markedly strong on the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta. Given the

³⁴² *La Geniére*. 1967, pp. 195-208, *La Geniére & Nickels* 1975 , pp. 483-208.

indigenous preference for some material aspects of Greek culture and the quick incorporation of Greek elements in the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta it seems more likely that the indigenous would have transferred to Sybaris out of their own self identification with Greek culture.

The same pattern might also be observed at both Amendolara and Incoronata where, as described in Chapter 2, indigenous settlements of the 8th century were replaced by larger mixed settlements in the 7th century BC. A final argument for this interpretation is the fact that a highly Hellenized indigenous group resettled at Francavilla Marittima towards the end of the 7th century BC. Although the houses, grave goods and newly constructed temples clearly corresponded to the Greek tradition, the indigenous self identification was still visible. Graves continued to be placed within the large family *tumuli* in the Macchiabate *necropolis* and the textile production continued to be a central ritual in the sanctuary on the Timpone della Motta.

9.6. Conclusion

The record of Greek-indigenous interrelations initiated during the first quarter of the 8th century BC on a crafts level, which was foremost centred around the Timpone della Motta. This initial contact did not cause any changes in indigenous religious attitude nor in funeral rites. It is difficult to relate this picture to the contemporary developments along the Tyrrhenian coast where a Greek presence can be attested in the indigenous graves first and foremost through the reception of Greek drinking cups in indigenous graves. That the situation in the Sibaritide is different is further underlined by the fact that Greek type cups were produced locally meaning that they were available within the indigenous sphere. It is therefore difficult to relate the Sibaritide to the “Euboean circuit” as it was described in chapter 2. Likewise, the Sibaritide was not within the “Corinthian” sphere. The limited amount of Greek pottery in itself shows that they did not arrive in a structural pattern. Some could potentially have arrived over indigenous contacts in Incoronata. From c. 730 BC the relationship developed into a formal level between indigenous and Greeks, which is reflected in funeral rites and in the sanctuary. In both cases, general Greek impulses can be seen but it is within a clear indigenous dominated cultural context but it appears difficult to assess the source of the Greek input. The influx of Greek pottery to the Timpone della Motta cannot directly be related to Sybaris since evidence strongly indicated that pottery would have arrived via the pre-existing connection to Campania as well as through indigenous contacts to Incoronata. The current methodological separation between pre-and post- Sybaris imports can therefore not be maintained.

The changes in the indigenous culture develop gradually after the foundation of Sybaris.

The large influx of Greek pottery to the Timpone della Motta is in this thesis suggested to have started around 680 BC and to have rapidly increased from c. 660 BC and onwards. The influx arrived via Sybaris in

phase, which corresponds to contemporary changes in ritual rites. However, the indigenous ritual input remains clear through the period.

In the Sibaritide the influx of Greek pottery can be observed from the end of the 8th century BC but general changes in funeral rites cannot be observed before towards the middle of the 7th century BC from thereon a gradual development towards Greek appearance can be observed.

General conclusion on the thesis.

It has in this thesis been sought to contextualize the influx of Greek pottery to the Timpone della Motta and the Sibaritide in the period between c. 780 and 700 BC. The purpose of this was to attempt to evaluate the liability of Greek pottery as an empiric in the understanding of Greek-indigenous interaction and Greek colonisation.

In the archaeology of the Sibaritide and elsewhere Greek pottery is traditionally regarded as a static Greek cultural marker in indigenous contexts and as an agent for Greek influence.

The current thesis has however shown that Greek pottery, when studied in a *vacuum*, is not the best material for the understanding of the nature of interregional connections, Greek frequentation and later permanent presence or “colonisation” and the impact it had on the indigenous groups.

A substantial part of the observations on the nature of the Greek cultural influence, made above, was not deduced from the Greek pottery itself but from its position within a broad contextual frame.

This has its natural explanation in the fact that the value of Greek pottery as a independent cultural marker is limited.

Pottery could essentially have been carried by anybody, redistributed and exchanged before it arrived in the Sibaritide, and much indicates that it actually was. The Greek pottery does therefore not give a substantial insight in the motive for their arrival but the indigenous reaction to them does.

The thesis started with an outline of respectively the “Euboean circuit” and “Corinthian circuit”. This was done primarily in order to create a material and contextual frame in evaluating the cultural significance of Greek pottery on the Timpone della Motta and the Sibaritide.

Secondarily, to establish whether the Sibaritide was part of any of the “circuits” or not. In respect to the latter, the thesis shows that it was not.

Greek activity and commercial interest developed in separate modes in the Sibaritide and did not reach a higher social level until shortly before the foundation of Sybaris.

The initial Greek presence of the Sibaritide was on a crafts level consisting of Greek potters attracted to the Timpone della Motta where they worked from the second quarter of the 8th century BC and onwards. The outcome of the production itself shows that there is a direct relationship between the nature of the Oinotrian-Euboean vessels and the indigenous ritual activities on the Timpone della Motta itself. In regards to the value of Greek pottery as a cultural marker, it must be pointed out that the actual presence of Greek pottery from the period before 730 BC only consists of a handful.

Therefore, to understand the cultural significance of Greek pottery it must be studied within a contextual frame, which incorporates the total range of archaeological material as well as the social context in which it is found contextual

This is underlined by the observations that could be made in this thesis.

The two following issues have been of key interest:

- A) Pre-Sybaris contact,
- B) B) colonisation.

The influx of Greek and locally produced pottery to the Timpone della Motta and the Sibaritide and the indigenous reception of the pottery shows that the initiation of Greek-indigenous interaction can be organised in the following chronological sequence.

- *Contact on crafts level (c.780- BC)*
- *Contact on formal level (c. 730/720- BC)*
- *Contact on religious level (c. 730- BC)*

In regards to the relationship between the foundation of Sybaris and the influx of Greek pottery to the indigenous sites the above proposed sequence underlines that Greek pottery can not automatically be assumed to have arrived in the Sibaritide via Sybaris. The presence of imported matt-painted pottery further stresses this point. In the period after the foundation of Sybaris the influx of pottery to the Timpone della Motta provides positive evidence for the following influx lines to the Sibaritide:

- *Campania (780-690 BC)*
- *Incoronata (720/710-680 BC ?)*
- *Sybaris (720/710- BC)*

The issue of Sybaritic colonisation or influence is strongly connected to the overall interpretations of the GIA excavation. It is unavoidable that the broad material and contextual record from the site must serve as a mirror of Sybaritic influence. The general interpretation on the GIA excavation have been defined by Marianne Kleibrink, who has argued Greek-indigenous co-existence and a phased transition of the sanctuary as opposed to rapid colonisation through the installation of a border sanctuary. The observations in this thesis fully supports the view.

Greek pottery has, as described in the introduction, long been used as the empiric barometer for Greek colonisation of the Sibaritide. I find nothing wrong in that. The nature of the site of Sybaris itself makes excavations difficult and the knowledge of the early period of the city is sporadic because of that. It is therefore only natural to seek information by using archaeological data from elsewhere in the Sibaritide including the finds of Greek pottery.

The GIA excavation, on which this thesis rests, has however illustrated that a more profound and detailed understanding is reached by first treating the Greek material within the native contexts, in which it occur and secondarily to try to relate the overall cultural development to the site of Sybaris it self.

The present thesis on the Greek pottery from the Timpone della Motta and the publication of the material, is not going to be the last word on the issue. Neither is it intended to be so. Its main purpose is to outline the potential in a contextual approach to Greek pottery in the Sibaritide.